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ORDINARY MEETING.*

PROFESSOR E. HULL, LL.D., F.R.S., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed, and the following Elections took place :—

MEMBERS :—Rev. Professor Milton G. Evans, A.M., D.D., United States
Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Camb., Cambridge.

ASSOCIATE :—R. Anderson, Esq., C.B., LL.D., London.

The following subject was then taken up by the author :—

CERTAIN INSCRIPTIONS AND RECORDS REFERRING TO BABYLONIA AND ELAM AND THEIR RULERS, AND OTHER MATTERS. By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, M.R.A.S.

I.—THE EARTHLY PARADISE.

THE question of the position of the Garden of Eden is an attractive theme that will always, in all probability, find exponents to come forward with their ideas upon the subject, and far be it from me to find fault with any of them—there are probably but few that do not help the cause of science, either directly or indirectly. It is not with any new theory, however, that I now come to you—there is little or no fresh material for that. What I now refer to is the Babylonian idea of the position of Paradise, and wherein it agrees with, or differs from the Biblical account.

* January 20, 3rd meeting of Session 1896.—The investigation of the subject taken up at this Meeting has been delayed on account of the usual difficulties attendant on critical research among Babylonian records. The study of the texts was ended, so far, and the matter passed for press October 1, 1897, see also p. 90.—ED.

The important text for this is the large tablet published in the W.A.I., v. pl. 15 (*), lines 25-67, which was first referred to, I believe, by Prof. Sayce, who has given translations of it. My excuse for again mentioning it is, that I have found some rather important additions nearly completing 2 (= 4 bilingual) lines of the inscription, and referring to the rivers, which, in this case, are an important indication of the spot where the Babylonians located their home of the blessed, called by them Eridu, a corruption of the Akkadian *guru-duga*, "the good city." This text reads as follows:—

1. In Eridu there grew a dark vine—in a glorious place was it brought forth;
2. Its form bright lapis-stone, set in the world beneath.
3. The path of Aê in Eridu is filled (with) fertility;
4. His seat is the centre-place of the earth;
5. His couch is the bed of Nammu.
6. To the glorious house, which is like a forest, its shade is set—no man enters its midst.
7. In its interior is the sun-god, Tammuz,
8. Between the mouths of the rivers (which are) on both sides.

There is no doubt that this highly poetical description is that of the Babylonian paradise—the name Eridu, mentioned above, is a sufficient indication of that, for it is the name of a city, a "good city" which, at the time the Persian Gulf extended farther inland than now, stood upon its shore. Within it grew "the dark vine," probably so called from its shade-giving branches, which, according to the line numbered 6, extended like a forest to "the glorious house" (*ana bîti êllu*), or, as the Akkadian has, "its glorious house" (*ê-azaggânita*). Eridu was regarded by the Babylonians as being the place which the path of Êa, the god of rivers, streams, etc., filled with fulness of fertility, the "place of the eye of the land" (Akk. *ki ïgi kuram*), where Nammu, the river-god, had his bed, which formed also the resting-place of Aê. Here, too, was the abode of Tammuz—"Tammuz of the Abyss," who dwelt between the mouths of the rivers that were on both sides (*ina bîrit pî nârâ[ti] . . . kilallan*).

The Babylonian paradise had, therefore, the tree, either of knowledge or of life, and the picture they give of it is grand in its way—a wide-extending vine, gloriously bright like unto beautiful lapis-lazuli, blue and white (*uknû êbbi*).

in colour and appearance. Once, probably, accessible to man, it was afterwards forbidden to him, for "no man enters its midst" (*ana libbi-šu manma lá irrubu*). It was a well-watered place, for the river-gods seem to have had it under their special protection and to have devoted to it their special attention, for on each side of the abode of Tammuz flowed two rivers—beyond a doubt the Tigris and the Euphrates. The remarkable likeness of this account to that of the Hebrews differs in this last circumstance, namely, that the Babylonians pictured their Paradise as having two rivers only (*ida-ka-mina*, "river mouth two") and not four, as the Hebrews. As in the Flood-stories of the two nations, also, there is a great difference, for the monotheism of the Hebrew account is replaced, in that of the Babylonians, by their picturesque and interestingly symbolical polytheistic system. It will probably now take its place as one of the most charming which excavations in Babylonia and Assyria have restored to us.

II.—CHEDORLAOMER AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

I now come to what many will probably regard as the most interesting part of my lecture—namely, the tablets which seem to refer to Arioch, Tidal, and Chedorlaomer.* In speaking of these tablets I have decided to treat of them in the order in which they came to my notice, and shall begin with Sp. III. 2, which contains all three names. This text is the lower left-hand part of an unbaked clay tablet about $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, the obverse giving part of 16 and the reverse part of 12 lines of writing, mostly in a very mutilated condition. The earlier lines contain a reference to "work" (*ipšetu-šu*), and have the word *hammu*, in which Prof. Hommel sees the beginning of the name Hammurabi, who is identified by Prof. Schrader with

* At this stage I purposely say, "seem to refer," and I wish it to be noted that I have never spoken of these names without a note of interrogation, though this was probably an excess of caution. My audience will be able to judge whether three names so similar to those in the 14th chapter of Genesis are, or are not, those of the personages mentioned in that chapter. I do not ask them, however, to express an opinion as to the magnitude or the strangeness of the coincidence if they should decide that the names given by the tablets are *not* those of Arioch and his allies. The other Assyriologists are now adopting the views regarding these names held by Prof. Sayce, Prof. Hommel, and myself.

Amraphel (of this king I shall speak more fully farther on). Whether the name of Hammurabi be really here or not is, however, doubtful, because the word is incomplete, and the determinative prefix for the name of a man is wanting.

S^p. III. 2.

-

 su
3. ip - še - tu - šu la
 *his work not*
 šu ha - am - mu
 pan (?) ilāni nab - nit
 *before (?) the gods, the creation of*
6. lu U - mu Šamaš mu - nam - mir
 *day* *Samaš illuminator of*
 bēl bēlē D.P. Marduk (?) ina kun - nu lib -
 *the lord of lords, Merodach, in the faithfulness of his*
 bi - šu
heart
 ardu (?) - uš kip - pat kali - šu ma - al - ku la
 *his servant (?) the region, all of it, the ruler not*
 za - nin
nourishing
9. - pa u - šam - kit. † Dûr - šîr - ilāni ablu ša
 *caused to be slain. Dûr - šîr - ilāni son of*
 † Eri - † [Ê] - a - ku
Arioch
10. - na - a - tam iš - lul mê éli Bâbili D.S. u
 *goods (?) he carried off, waters over Babylon and*
 Ê - sag - gil
the temple Ê - saggil

11. . . . mârî (?) - šu ina kakki kâta - šu kima (?) as - lu
 . . . his son (?) with the weapon of his hands like (?) a lamb
 u - ta - bi - iḫ - šu
 slaughtered him
12. . . . bil iḫ - bu (?) ši D.P. šêbu u mârû ina
 . . . spoke (?) to her (?), the old man and the child
 kakki
 with the sword
- mârû ik - ki - is † Tu - ud - ḫul - a mâr
 . . . the child he cut off. Tidal son of
- † Gaz - za . . .
 Gazz[āni?]
- - a - tam iš - lul mē êli Bâbili D.S. u
 . . . goods (?) he carried off, waters over Babylon and
 Ê - sag - gil
 the temple E - saggil
15. . . . mârî - šu ina kakki kâta - šu muḫ - ḫa - šu
 . . . his son with the weapon of his hands upon him
 im - kut
 fell
- be - lu - u - ti - šu a - na pa - an bêt
 . . . of his dominion before the temple
- An - nu - nit . . .
 of Annunit . . .

Sp. III, 2.

REVERSE.

- . . . E - lam - mat âl Aḫ - ḫi (?) - e ana (?),
 . . . Elam the city Aḫḫé (?) to (?)
- mât Rab - ba - a - tu^m iš - lul
 the land Rabbatum^m he spoiled
- . . . - ku a - bu - ba - niš iš - kun ma (?) - ḫa - zu
 . . . in ruins he set the fortress (?)
- mât Akkad D.S. gab - bi Bar - ši - *
 of Akked the whole of Borsippa (?)

.	limutti (?) - šu	lib - ba - šu
.	his evil (?)	(from) his heart
	ilāni âb[ê] (?)	
	the gods father[s ?]	
12.	bêl (?)	hi - tu la
.	lord of	sin shall
	i -	
	not [exist ?]]

THE PROBABLE CONTENTS OF Sp. III, 2.

After the reference to the work of some one whose name is not preserved, to the gods, and to "Šamaš (the sungod), illuminator of [the earth?]," Merodach, "the lord of lords," is spoken of as having, "in the faithfulness of his heart," devastated (?) some region, "all of it," and, perhaps, "caused to be slain" (obv., l. 9), the ruler who did not nourish (*malku lá zanin*, l. 8), that is, in all probability, "patronize" [the temples]. Dûr-šîr-ilāni, son of Eri-[E]aku (l. 9), is then spoken of, and the spoiling of some place and devastating (?) by water (𒌦 𒌦) of Babylon and the great temple Ê-saggil. This is followed by a reference to the slaughtering of some person "like(?) a lamb," a deed committed (judging from the traces on the edge) by the son of some one whose name is lost. Old and young, too, [were slain] by the sword (l. 12), and some person or thing "cut off" (l. 13), and the writer immediately afterwards refers to Tudhala (Tidal), son of Gazzā[ni?], and to the spoiling of some place and the devastating by water of Babylon and the temple E-saggil (l. 14)—a statement which would lead one to suppose that Tidal had imitated Dûr-šîr-ilāni (see lines (9, 10), and this supposition is strengthened by the following line, where we are informed that his (? Gazzā[ni]')s son "fell upon him with the weapon of his hand (l. 15), and then [proclaimed?] his dominion (?) before the temple of Anunit (l. 16).

The reverse begins with a reference to the land of Elam, the city Aḥḥê (?), and the land of Rabbatu^m, and I at first thought that the latter two were spoiled by the king of the former, but one may just as easily refer this line to Tudhala or Tidal—"he spoiled [from?] Elam and the city of Aḥḥê (?)

to the land of Rabbatu^m." Whether, however, it was he who made some district like ruin-heaps (l. 2), and captured(?) the fortresses of the land of Akkad and the whole of Borsippa(?) (l. 2), is more than doubtful. This line refers with more probability to Kudar-lagmal or Chedor-laomer, whose name occurs in the next line (3), with the addition that "his son, pie[rced] his (? his father's) heart with the iron sword of his girdle," probably stamping him (like Tudgula or Tidal, obv. l. 15) as a parricide. In line 4 of the rev. the person who "took his enemy" was probably the legal ruler, referred to lower down as "the king my (our) lord," the kings who were "lords of si[n]" being apparently the seeming parricides, Tudgula, and Kudur-lagmal, with whom Merodach, king of the gods, was angry (l. 5), whose breasts were oppressed with sickness, whose faces [were bowed down in the dust?] (l. 6), and whose territory(?) was reduced(?) to ruins (l. 7). All these to the king recognised by the people [were compelled to submit?], by the power of him who "knows the heart of the gods, the gracious Merodach, for the renown of his name" (ll. 7, 8). The inscription finishes with a reference to [the writing, the contents of which were then] proclaimed in E-saggil, [and which the future prince who should restore that temple] should, [when he found it], restore to its place (l. 9) [after taking note of its contents], as was the custom in those days. The sense of the 10th line is uncertain, but the 11th and 12th seem to contain a pious hope that the gods might [keep all] evil (?) from the heart [of the ruler?], and that "a lord of sin (*hitu*) might no longer exist."

The above is an attempt to form a connected narrative from this mutilated text, the great importance of which is that it gives the three names which so closely resemble those of the two Babylonian kings and one Elamite king of the 14th chapter of Genesis. At present I will not speak of the readings of these names, nor the variant characters in them—that will be best done afterwards, and in the notes. I will merely remark that the finding on one document of three names that we should *expect* to see mentioned in close connection, is a thing which anyone bringing objections will have to explain away. Unsatisfactory as the condition of this text is, it would nevertheless be hard to exaggerate its interest and importance.

The next document is a rather thin fragment of a tablet in the same style of writing, but of baked clay, the obverse being fairly well preserved, and therefore giving a fairly con-

nected narrative, notwithstanding that the end of every line is broken away. The reverse of this text, however, is so mutilated as to be practically worthless. The nature of the text is historical, and very detailed, and it is of importance in that it gives the names of two of the personages who are apparently mentioned in the inscription of which I have just given a description, namely, Kudur-lagğamal (as he is apparently called here), and Eri-E-kua, or Eri-Akua, evidently a variant of Eri-[E]aku), whose son is spoken of. The following is a translation of this text:—

S^p. II, 987.

OBVERSE.

- îlāni
 *the gods*
 ta-at ur-ra(?)

3. ki mar-kas šam-e ša ana ir-bit
 *The bond of heaven which to the four*
- im-ru
regions(?)
- [i]-šim-šu-nu-tu^m šar-ta^m ša ina Bâbili âl
he set them the fame which in Babylon the city
- ta-na-
of [his] glo[ry]
- i-sim-šu-nu-tu^m nam-kur šu-ud Bâbili
he set them The property of the possession of Babylon
- ša-har u ra-
small and gre[at]
6. ina mil-ki-šu-nu ki-ni^m ana Ku-dur-lağ-ga-mal
in their faithful counsel to Chedorlaomer
- šar mât E-la[-mat]
king of the land of Ela[m]

u - kan - nu u rid - di ga - na ša éli - šu - nu
 they said (?) "Descend." The thing that unto them (was)

ta - a - bi
 good [he performed, and]

ina Bâbîli âl Kar - (D.P.) Dun - ya - aš šarru - ta^m
 in Babylon, the city of Kar-Duniaš sovereignty

ip - pu - uš
 he exercised

9. ina Bâbîli D.S. âl šar îlâni (D.P.) Marduk
 in Babylon, the city of the king of the gods, Merodach,

id - du - u is (?)
 they had overthrown, he

su - kul - lu^m u kalbē bît ḥab - ba - a - ta^m
 the herd and the dogs of the house of the dens (?)

i - ma - ag - ga
 he favoureth (?)

iḥ - tar - ku ki - i - nu a - ri - bi mut - tab - ri - šu
 he captured constantly. The raven having wings

i - ra - mu
 he loveth

12. i - nak - kar a - ri - bi šir - ḥu tab - bi - ik
 changeth, the raven, the loud crying, which pours out

mar - tu^m
 gall

kalbu ka - si - is NER - PAD - DA i - ma - ag - ga - ar
 The dog who crunches the bone he favoureth.

D.P. Nin -
 Nin -

i - nak - kar šir - ḥuššu amelu ḥab - ba - a - tu^m
 changeth the great snake of the man of the dens,

ta - bi - ik
 which pours out

15. [I?] a - u šarri mât E - la - mat ša
What (?) king of the land of Elam (is there) who

D.P. nun - nu Ê - sag - gil u - . . .
the chapel (?) (on) Ê - saggil has [built ?]

. . . u (?) âblē Bâbili iš - ku - nu - ma šip - ru -
. . . the sons of Babylon made and their work

šu - nu i - . . .
he . . .

. . . e - tu^m ša taš - tu - ru um - ma Ana ku
[the let]ter (?) that thou hast written thus I am

šarru mâr šarri NU (?) . . .
a king, the son of a king . . .

18. . . - u mâr mârât šarri ša ina D.P. kussî
. . . the son of the daughter of a king who on the throne

šarru - tu u - ši - bu (?) . . .
of dominion have sat . . .

. . . Dûr - šîr - ilâni mârû ša Eri - ê - ku - a ša
. . . Dûr - šîr - ilâni the son of Eri - êkua who

šal - lat . . .
the spoil of . . .

[ina] D.P. kussî šarru - tu u - ši - ib - ma ina ma - ħar (?)
[on] the throne of dominion sat and with the sword (?)

di - i - ku (?) . . .
was killed (?) . . .

21. . . nu šarru lil - lik ša ultu û - mu da - ru - u - tu
. . . the king may he go who from remote days to

kun (?) . . .
set (?) . . .

. . . in - nam - bi bêt Bâbili D.S. ul i - kan - nu
was proclaimed lord of Babylon prepared not

še - . . .
. . .

- [arab] Kisilimi u arah Du'uzi ina Bâbili
 [month] Kislev and month Tammuz in Babylon
- in - ni - ip - pu -
 was ma[de]
24. . . . še - e - a kalû (?) sa - pi - in - nu mâti
 my . . . the priest (?) who destroys the land
- kali - [šu ?]
 all of [it ?]
- -bi(?) - u^m ina mil - ki - šu - nu ki - nu - um
 in their faithful counsel
- nu - a kalû (?) ku(?)um a -
 my . . . the priest (?) instead of a
- bu - bu (?)
 flood
27. . . . rabûti (??) ina šal - lat u - še - iṣ -
 . . . the great ones (??) with the spoil he caused to be
- bi (?)
 taken (?)
- ša - ri - ti dam -
 ravaging (?) the
-

Sp. II, 987.

REVERSE.

-
1. - nam (?) la ša - ma - *
 unrivalled (?)
2. šarru šakkanaku ul
 the king the ruler without (rival?). . . .
3. tu^m nap - šat - su ta (?)
 his life

4. di
5. lu^m D.P. Šamaš
 [lo]rd (?) Šamaš
6. da - ab
7. ku (?)
8. (pl.) ku (?)
9. še
10. D.P. nam (?)
 *the officials* (?)
11. Ū - mu ma - la
 days, as many as
12. bêlē ar - nu
 lords (of) sin
13. kal - la mar - sa
 all (?) the sick (?)
14. gab - šu ut - ta
 the power (?)
15. ' - ir - šu man - nu
 the wise whoever
16. damak Bâbili Ê - sag[- gil]
 the good of Babylon (and) E - saggil
-
17. Duppi Tu - *
 *tablet of Tu - **
18. Nabâ (?)
 *Nebo*

SP. II. 987.

(A free rendering.)

..... the gods
 the rule of the heavens which he set for them in the four
 regions the renown that in Babylon, the
 city of his glo[ry], he had set for them the goods
 of Babylon, small and gre[at], in their faithful
 counsel to Chedorlaomer, king of the land of Elam, they
 said (?) "descend" (and) the thing that unto them was
 good [they performed and], he exercised sovereignty in
 Babylon, the city of Kar-Duniaš, [and] he placed [his throne?]
 in Babylon, the city of the king of the gods, Merodach.
 the herd (?) and the dogs (?) of *bit ḥabbātu* he
 favoureth (?) he captured constantly. He loveth
 the winged raven he changeth. The loud-crying
 raven, pouring out the bitterness the dog who
 cruncheth the bone, he favoureth. Nin- changeth.
 The great snake of the man of *ḥabbatu* who poureth forth
 What (?) king of Elam (is there) who has [erected]
 a chapel (?) on E-saggil? [That?] the Babylonians made,
 and their work [they have perfected?]. [The let]ter (?) that
 thou hast written thus: "I am a king, the son of a king,
 a pr[ie]st? the son of the daughter of a king, who on
 the throne of a dominion have sat." Dûr-maḥ-îlâni the
 son of Eri-êkua, who [had carried off?] the spoil, sat [on]
 the throne of dominion and in the presence of Now
 let the king go, who from remote days has been ordained (?),
 [whose name?] has been proclaimed. The lord of Babylon
 prepares not [in the month] Sivan and the month
 Tammuz (there) was made in Babylon my a
 high-priest (?) who destroyeth the land, all [of it?]
 in their faithful counsel my the high-
 priest (?) instead (?) of destruction
 he has caused the great ones to be taken (?) with the
 spoil ravaging the ...

What I have just read is only a free rendering of the
 text, the connection of which is, in many cases, very doubtful.
 Nevertheless there are points that are certain enough—that
 Kudur-(lağ)gamal ruled over Babylon, and was a great
 lover of animals. He seems to have claimed to have built a

part of the temple of Saggil or Sagila at Babylon, and the Babylonians apparently revolted against him when the son of Eri-êkua laid claim to the throne.

The third document is much larger and much more complete than the other two, though still sufficiently mutilated. This inscription is very long, the obverse having 41, and the reverse 39 lines of writing more or less complete, the text of the latter being divided into seven paragraphs. Its poetical form will readily be recognized.

S^p. 158 + S^p. II, 962.

OBVERSE.

- - ma - . . .
-
- kur-ra
the temple (?)
3. E - lam - mat
Elam
- bu - šu - šu
its goods
- zi - mi - šu - nu
their faces
6. - am - ma u - kal - lam D.P. Šam - ši
and exposes to the sun
- me (?) is - ni - ka a - na bâbi šîri
and they pressed on to the supreme gate
- dalat Ištar is - sik is - suḫ - ma it - ta - di
the door of Istar he threw down, he removed and he cast down
- gišgal - li - niš
in the holy places
9. kima D.P. Ur - ra la ga - mil i - ru - um - ma Dû - mağ - iš
like Ura the unsparing he descended also to Dû-mağ
- iz - ziz - ma ina Dû - mağ i - na - aṭ - ṭal ê - kur
he stayed also in Dû-mağ, he saw the temple
- pî - šu ipuš - am - ma itti D.P. mârē i - dib - bu - ub
his mouth he opened, and with the children he spake,

12. ana kal - la ku - ra - di - e - šu u - šaḥ - miṭ ma - ag - ri - tu^m
to all his warriors he hastened the message

šu - ul - la - ' šal - lat ê - kur li - ka - a - ma
Carry off the spoil of the temple, take also

bu - šu - šu
its goods

suḥ - ḥa - ' u - sur - ta - šu šup - ri - sa - a
destroy its barrier, cause its enclosures

sak - ki - e - šu
to be cut through

15. a - na iki šu - . . . is - ni - ka . . .
to the channel . . . they pressed on (?)

i - bu - ut mal - ki . . . ma (?) - ḥar - šu (?)
he destroyed the ruler (?) . . . before (?) - him (?)

. . . Ê - šar - ra
Ê-šarra

18. . . ur - rid še - du - uš - šu
. . . there came down his winged bulls

u (?) - saḥ - ḥi . . . it (?) - bal par - ši - šu
he destroyed . . . carried away its ordinances

i - ru - um - ma pa - kid (?) AT - GI - GI is - suḥ
he drove away also the overseer of the ruler, he took away

ka - tim - tu^m
the veil

21. a - na D.P. En - nun - dagal - la D.P. nakru (?) is - ni - ka
to Ennun - dagalla the enemy pressed on

lim - ni - iš
evilly

ina pani - šu ilāni il - la - biš nu - u - ri
before him the gods were clothed with light

kima bir - ka ib - riḫ - ma i - nu - uš aš - ru - ti
like lightning he lightened and he shook the (holy) places

24. ip (?) - luḥ - ma D.P. nakru uk - kiš ra - man - šu
feared also the enemy, he hid himself
- . - rid (?) - ma D.P. ni - sak - ka - šu a - mat i - ḳab - bi - šu
descended (?) also its prince a command he speaks to him
- . . . man - di . . . - i îlāni il - la - biš nûri
. . . the gods were clothed with light
27. [kima bir - ḳa ib - riḳ -] ma i - nu - uš aš - ru - ti
[like lightning he lightened] and he shook the (holy) places
- En - nun - dagal - la suḥ - ḥi âgê - šu
. En-nun-dagalla, remove his crowns
- bîti (?) - šu ti - iṣ - bat ḳat - su
[enter into?] his house, seize his hand
30. ul i - du - ur - ma ul (?) iḥ - su - su na - piš - tu^m
. he feared not and he regarded not (his) life
- En - nun - dagal - la ul u - saḥ - ḥi âgê - šu
. En-nun-dagalla, he removes not his crowns
- D.P. Elam (ki) - u iz - kur ma - ta (?) - tu^m
. the Elamite proclaimed (to) the lands
33. . . D.P. Elamu D.P. si - e - nu iz - kur pa (?) - a - a * - niš
. . the Elamite, the wicked man, proclaimed far and wide (?)
- . . ša - na kat - te - e u - ša - an - na - a na - pa - al - tu^m (?)
. . . the kattê repeated the matter (?)
- . . . šu (?) ba . . is man - di lib - ba lu - bil - lu - u
. . . numerous (?) within (?), may they bring
- ana ê - kur
to the temple
36. ina du - maḡ lu a - šib a - ' - il ni - sak - [ku]
. in Dû-maḡ then dwelling, staying (was) the chief.
- - u it (?) - bu (?) - uš D.P. kat - te - e
. there came (?) to it the kattê
- a (?) - al D.P. ni - sak - ku
. stayed (?) the chief

9. Bêl a - sib (?) e - li (?) - šu ir - ta - ši [ki -] mil - ti
Bel dwelling upon (?) it, had displeasure.

I - nu - um ša - bu - ru - u iš - ta - nu lim - nam (?) - šu - un
When the magicians repeated their evil (?)

D.P. Gul - lu^m u imi - ħul - lu^m u - pa - as - si - ħi (?)
Gullu^m and the evil wind performed (?)

[lim?] - ni - šu - un
their evil (?)

12. ur - ri - du - ma îlāni šu - nu u - ri - du - ma na - kab - bi - iš
come down also their gods, they have come down like a torrent
 me - ħi - e šâru lim - nu il - ma - a ša - ma - mi - iš
the storm (and) evil wind went round in the heavens

D.P. A - nu^m pa - ti - ik - šu - nu ir - ta - ši ki - mil - tu^m
Anu, their creator, had displeasure

15. un - ni - iš zi - mi - šu - nu u - na - a - ma man - za - as - su
he made pale their face, he made desolate his place

[ina?] ni (?) - ib - ħi Ê - an - na u - saĥ - ħi ušurta - šu
in the shrine (?) of E-anna he destroyed its enclosure

. . . . a ê - šar - ra i - nu - uš ki - gal - la
 the temple, shook the platform.

18. iz - kur šaĥ - lu - uĥ - tu^m
 he decreed destruction

. ir - ta - ši ki - mil - tu^m
 he had disfavour

ih (?) - pu (?) - un (?) - nat Bêl [E -] zi (?) - da
Barred (?) the people (?) of Bel of E-zida (?)

ĥarran Šu - me - ri - iš
the road to Sumer

21. a - a - u Ku - dur - laġ - gu - [mal e] - piš lim - ni - e - tu^m
Who (is) Chedorlao[mer], the maker of the evils?

id - kam - ma D.P. umman ma - an - [da? . . .] un (?) -
he has gathered also the Umman-Man[da] the people (?)

nat Bêl
 of Bel,

- u - na - am - ma - am - ma ina a - ħi - šu - nu
he has laid in ruin by their side.
-
24. I - nu - um ša Ê - zi - da ta - šu
When of Êzida . . . its
- u D.P. Nabû pa - kiđ kiš - šat ur - ri [-id še - du - uš] - šu
*and Nebo ruler of the host, {there came} his [winged bulls].
 { down }*
- šap - liš ana Ti - amti (ki) iš - ku - [nu pa - ni - šu] .
down to Tiamtu he se[t his face]
27. † I - ne - D.P. Tu - tu ša ki - rib Ti - amti (?) iĥ - mut
Ine-Tutu whom within Tiamtu hastened
- D.P. Utu - gišgalu (?)
the Sungod (?)
- i - bir - ma Ti - amtu (ki) ir - ma - a la šu - bat - su (?)
he entered also Tiamtu he set (that which was) not his seat
- ša Ê - zi - da bîti ki - nim šu - ĥur - ru - ur
of Ê-zida, the everlasting temple, was the enclosure
- sak - ki - e - šu (?)
caused to be broken through
-
30. [D.P. nakru D.P. Elam (ki) - u u - še - šir ši - in - di - šu
 [the enemy] the Elamite {caused his yoke} to be directed
 { (team of horses) }
- šap - liš ana Dûr - si - a - ab - ba iš - ku - nu pa - ni - šu
down to Borsippa he set his face
- ur - ri - [da - am] - ma ĥarran da - um - mat - tu ĥarranu
he traversed (?) also the road of darkness, the road
- Me - eš - ki - iš
to Mešku
33. D.P. ši - e - nu D.P. Elam (ki) - u u - nab - bil e - ma - aĥ - šu
the wicked man, the Elamite, destroyed its palace (?)
- D.P. rubûti i - na - ri ina kak - ki
the princes subdued with the sword
- ša Ê - kur - (ati), ka - la - šu - nu [iš] - lul (?) šal - lat - su - un
of the temples, all of them, he carried off (?) their spoil

24. The enemy feared, he hid himself
 25. There descended (?) also its chief man, and he spoke to him a command
 26. “. the gods were clothed with light
 27. “[He* flashed like lightning] and shook the (holy) places.
 28. “[Draw near unto?] Ennun-dagalla, remove his crowns!
 29. “[Enter into?] his temple, seize his hand!”
 30. “. he did not fear, and he regarded not (his) life
 31. [He approacheth not (?)] Ennun-dagalla, he removeth not his crowns.
 32. “. the Elamite proclaimed (to) the lands (?).
 33. “. . . the Elamite, the wicked man, proclaimed far and wide (?)
 34. “. . . . the *katté* repeated the matter (?).
 35. “. numerous (?) within (?), may they bring to the temple
 36. “. the chief then dwelt and stayed in Dû-mah.
 37. “. there came to it the *katté*.
 38. “. the chief stayed.
 39. “. over him.
 40. “.
 41. “.

REVERSE.

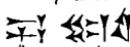
1. “. dish of

 2. When the guardian spoke (?) peace [to the city ?]
 3. There came down his winged bulls, who [protect?] the temple.
 4. The enemy, the Elamite, multiplied evils,
 5. And Bel allowed evil to be planned against Babylon.

 6. When righteousness was absent (?), there was decided (?) also the destruction
 7. of the temple, the house of the multitude of the gods. (Then) came down his winged bulls.
 8. The enemy, the Elamite, took its goods—
 9. Bel dwelling upon †(?) it had displeasure.

 10. When the magicians repeated their evil words (?).
 11. Gulu^m and the evil wind performed (?) their evil (?).
 12. There came down also their gods, they came down like a torrent.

* Probably Ennun-dagala.

† The characters in the original can hardly be anything else than , *e-li*, “upon,” and this would indicate that the “temple” spoken of was a tower in stages—probably that described by Diodorus as having statues of Zeus, Hera, and Rhea—the temple of Belus.

13. Storm and evil wind went round in the heavens—
 14. Anu, their creator, had displeasure.
 15. He made pale their face, he made desolate his place,
 16. He destroyed the barrier in the shrine of Ê-anna,
 17. [He overthrew?] the temple, (and) the platform shook.
-
18. he decreed destruction,
 19. he had disfavour.
 20. The people(?) of Bel, of Ê-zida(?) barred(?) the road to Sumer.
 21. Who is Chedor-lao[mer], the doer of the evils?
 22. He has gathered also the Umman-Man[da against(?)] the people(?) of Bel—
 23. He has laid in ruin by their side.
-
24. When the [enclosure?] of Ê-zida (was) [broken down?].
 25. And Nebo was ruler of the host, there came [down] his [winged bulls].
 26. Down to Tiamtu he se[t his face].
 27. Ine-Tutu, whom the Sungod(?) hastened within Tiamtu,
 28. Entered Tiamtu, (and) founded a pseudo-capital.
 29. The enclosure of Ê-zida, the everlasting temple, was caused to broken through.
-
30. [The enemy], the Elamite, caused his yoke of horses to be directed, (and)
 31. Set his face (to go) down to Borsippa.
 32. He traver[sed] also the road of darkness, the road to Mesech.
 33. The tyrant(?) Elamite destroyed its palace(?).
 34. He subdued the priuces of with the sword,
 35. He [car]ried off the spoil of all the temples,
 36. [He] took their goods, and carried them away (to) Elam.
 37. ruler, he destroyed its ruler(?),
 38. filled also the land.
 39.

Mutilated as it is, this text is nevertheless more satisfactory as to its condition than the other two published in this paper, and its nature is, therefore, not so difficult to determine. The obverse tells us what "the Elamite," "the evil man" (lines 32, 33), "the enemy" (lines 21, 24) did in Du-mah ("the supreme seat"), where, like Ura (= Nergal, god of war and pestilence), he spoiled the temple of Istar and destroyed that of Du-mah, turning his attention especially to the deity Ennun-dagalla. If there be anything of truth in the narrative (and in all probability it indicates what

really took place, treated poetically), there must have been a severe thunderstorm, when "the gods flashed like lightning and shook the (holy) places," so much so that the enemy moved by superstitious fears, did not carry out his intention of carrying away the crowns of the statue of the god. He seems, however, to have taken and retained possession of the place.

The reverse seems to state why all these misfortunes came, and what further happened. It was because they accepted a foreign ruler (so it would seem from line 2); because there was denial of righteousness or justice (line 6), upon which the Babylonians set great store; because the *šaburū* repeated evil (words)—the winged bulls of Bêl came down, causing "storm and evil wind." The house of the host of heaven, "the temple of the multitude of the gods" (l. 7), apparently in Babylon, was destroyed, and the Elamite plundered it; the barrier of the shrine of Ê-anna (probably the temple of Nanâ at Erech) was broken down, and the platform shaken (16 and 17), it is to be supposed by some convulsion of nature.

This is followed by the reference to Chedorlaomer and the Umman-manda, whom he seems to have led when invading Sumer or Shinar (lines 18-23 of the reverse).

The next paragraph or stanza has a reference to Ê-zida, the great temple-tower of Borsippa, the enclosure of which was broken through. At this time Ine-Tutu, probably a *patesi* or viceroy of this district, fled to Tiamtu, the region of the Persian Gulf, where he founded a temporary capital (lines 24-29). The invader thereupon seems to have proceeded to Borsippa, and afterwards took the road to the north, to Mesech, probably the region north of Babylonia, unless we are to read, with Prof. Sayce, *Šiškiš*, "To Sheshach" or Babylon, as already stated.

It is noteworthy that, in the reference to Ê-anna (reverse, l. 16), there is no mention of the carrying away of the image of the goddess Nanâ by Kudur-Nanḫundi. The date given by Aššur-banî-âpli for the invasion of Akkad (Babylonia) by this ruler is 1635 or 1535 years before his own time, that is, about 2260 or 2180 B.C. Now the date of Ḫammurabi, who was a contemporary of Chedorlaomer, was about 2220 B.C., so that we ought probably to regard the earlier of Aššur-banî-âpli's two dates for Kudur-Nanḫundi's inroad as being the more correct.

In the foregoing pages, I have treated of the three texts

referring to Chedorlaomer and the other kings in the order in which I identified them, but this is probably not their true order, for the determining of which we must wait for further material.

They refer to a very powerful ruler and conqueror of ancient times, who overran Babylonia, spoiling its cities and temples, which latter, from their great wealth, naturally excited his cupidity. The history of this conqueror seems to have been told at great length by the scribes, possibly on account of the circumstances attending his expulsion, as seems to be indicated by the second document (Sp. II., 987), which mentions the claim of a prince who is evidently the son of Arioch, who there (apparently) calls himself "a king, the son of a king, the son of the daughter of a king." Naturally these texts all refer, for the most part, to Babylonia, that being the country most affected by the conqueror's warlike zeal, though his conquests in other parts may possibly be spoken of in the first text (Sp. III., 2). The existence of portions of three tablets referring to the conquests of Kudur-laġgamal show how profoundly the heart of Babylonia was stirred by the misfortunes that the conqueror brought upon their land, and their gratitude at final deliverance must have been proportionately great.

It is necessary, in view of the criticisms that have been made, to say something about the names. We will therefore take that of the chief personage, Kudur-laġgamal, first. This name is written, as I have elsewhere remarked, in a very fanciful way, namely, with the character *ku* four (or three) times repeated, and *mal*, thus |     . Now there are probably none who will deny that the group   has the value *Kudur*—that is regarded, by all who have seen the text, as certain. For the next character () again I had suggested the value of *laġ* (the polyphony of the Assyrian syllabary obliges the student to be constantly on the outlook for new values). For the fourth  the bilingual lists suggested the value of *gi* or *gu* (a softening of the common value of the character, *ku*), and the syllabaries indicated for the last character, , the value of *mal*. Now the name Tudġula in the first text (Sp. III., 2) corresponds, as far as the consonants are concerned, with the Tidal of Genesis xiv., and Eri-Eaku or Eri-Ekua corresponds very well with Arioch (of this name I shall speak later on). For

our fancifully written name, therefore, a form corresponding with the Biblical Chedorlaomer was suggested, for which Kudur(laḡ)gumal gave, with little or no doubt, the first two and the last two syllables—those corresponding to *Chedor* and *'omer*. For the remaining character the value of *la* or *laḡ* is required. These values are indicated by the syllabaries and bilingual-lists, and will be given in full in the notes. For the present we may simply say that the characters 𒌷 (the second component is slightly doubtful, but can hardly be anything else than here indicated, as a parallel passage shows) have the variant $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$, *pa-h-ih*, showing that the second character has the value of *liḡ* (*liḡ*), and characters having that value (𒌷 and 𒌷) can also be read *lah* and *luḡ* (*laḡ*, *luḡ*), as is shown in Brünnow's "Classified list." 𒌷 , moreover, has the meaning of *ellu*, as has also the character 𒌷 , one of whose values is, as already remarked, *lah* (*laḡ*)—indeed, the value of *laḡ* for 𒌷 seems to be clearly indicated by W.A.I. III., pl. 3, lines 51 and 52, where, as I have elsewhere pointed out, we must read 𒌷 , *laḡ*, for 𒌷 . It is to be noted that Prof. Hommel's reading of *dug* is a very suggestive one. 𒌷 , as is well known, has that value, as well as that of *tug*, and *t* and *l* interchange in Akkadian, as shown by $\text{𒌷} = \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$, *utaḡ*, and $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$ *ulaḡ*, which are given as the Akkadian values of 𒌷 (W.A.I. V., pl. 38, lines 35 *b* and 61 *c*). Here, then, are three arguments for the values of *laḡ*, *liḡ*, and *luḡ* for 𒌷 , besides the intrinsic probability of the tablets themselves, for it is in the highest degree unlikely that tablets containing the name of Tidal and others closely resembling Arioch and Chedorlaomer, the last designated "king of Elam," and "the Elamite," should not, after all, refer to those personages.

The name identified with Arioch is written $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$ $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$, *Eri-E-a-ku*, and $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$, *Eri-e-ku-a*, the latter form showing that the character to be restored in the first form is 𒌷 . The question naturally arises whether, in the form *Eri-e-ku-a*, the last two characters are not transposed ($\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$ for $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$), as the final 𒌷 does not seem to belong to the word which follows, though that is certainly possible. The equivalence of the above forms, $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$

𒌷 𒊩 and 𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒊩 𒌷, is placed beyond doubt by the fact that the son in both cases is 𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷, variant 𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷, *Dur-mah-ilāni* (? or *Dūr-sir-ilāni*), a name meaning "the great" (or "supreme") "fortress of the gods."* The equivalence would not have been absolutely provable otherwise. With regard to the name Eri-Eaku, or Eri-ekua, an extremely important suggestion by Prof. Sayce is worthy of notice. In a communication that he has made to me upon the subject, he says: "𒀭𒌷, *Ea*, must have been pronounced *â* in late Babylonian, as is shown by the "Aos of Damascius." This is a suggestion that would indicate that Eri-Aaku and Eri-akua are better transcriptions than those indicated above, and probably explains the variant of 𒀭𒌷 𒌷 𒀭𒌷, *A-e*, for the name of the well-known deity 𒀭𒌷 𒌷, *E-a*, or, as we should probably transcribe in both cases, *Aa* = "Aos, as mentioned in the note of Prof. Sayce already referred to.

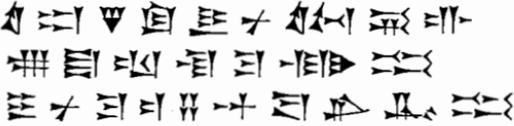
FURTHER TEXTS BEARING ON THE ABOVE.

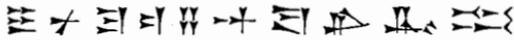
The letters of Hammurabi discovered in the Museum of Constantinople by Father Scheil are three in number, and are addressed by that ruler to a certain Sinidinna^m, to whom he makes certain communications concerning the affairs of his kingdom. The text referring to Chedorlaomer I reproduce here after Father Scheil's copy, which I venture to retranscribe into the Babylonian character.

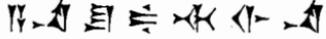
TEXT.

𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷
 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷
 3. 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷
 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷
 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒌷

* At first, influenced by its meaning, I regarded this as the name of a city, but the text of Sp. II., 987, when brought to bear upon Sp. III., 2, precludes the possibility of that.

6. 


9. 


12. 


TRANSCRIPTION.

- A - na Sin - i - din - nam
 ki - be - ma
3. um - ma Ḫa - am - mu - ri - bi - ma
 I - la - a - ti^m ša E - mu - ut - ba - li^m
 ed - li - ti - ka
6. um - u^m ša Ku - dur - la - aḫ - ga - mar
 u - ša - al - la - ma - aḫ - ḫu
 I - nu - ma iṣ - ša - an - ba - ni - iḫ - ḫu
9. i - na umman - i^m ša ga - ti - ka
 umman - a^m lu - pu - ut - ma
 i - la - a - ti^m
12. a - na šu - ub - ti - ši - na
 li - ša - al - li - mu

TRANSLATION.

1. *To Sin-idinna^m*
2. *speaks also*
3. *thus Hammurabi*
4. *The goddesses of Emutbalu*
5. *(for) thy heroism*
6. *(on) the day of Chedorlaomer*
7. *I shall deliver to thee.*
8. *When they ask them back from thee*
9. *with the people of thine hand*
10. *overthrow the people, and*
11. *the goddesses*
12. *to their seats*
13. *let them deliver*

FREE RENDERING.

"Hammurabi sends thus to Sin-idinna^m. I shall hand over to thee the goddesses of Emutbalu (on account of) thy heroism on the day of Chedorlaomer. When they demand them back from thee, overthrow thou their people with the people who are with thee, and let them restore the goddesses to their shrines."

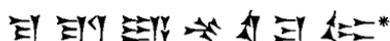
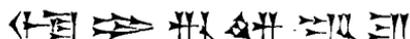
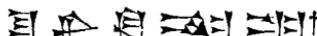
In other words, this was a gift to Sin-idinna^m which he would have to renounce if there were difficulties connected with its retention, for the people might demand their goddesses back. Should this take place, Sin-idinna^m was apparently to chastise the people, and then restore the images to their ancient shrines, in order that the conquered might see that the conqueror, though he would not be dictated to, was merciful.

Father Scheil seems to have found the true key of the situation. Sin-idinna^m was, as is well known, king of Larsa, and he points out that he must have been the last ruler before the two Elamites, "princes of Emutbal," Kudur-Mabug and his son Rim-Agu or Eri-Aku (Arioch), dispossessed him, and the latter became king of Larsa. Sin-idinna^m of Larsa is very probably the same person as the Sin-idinna^m to whom Hammurabi writes, and to whom Hammurabi, if he did not actually replace him upon the throne of Larsa, at least gave considerable authority, and helped to drive out the Elamites from his territory.

As, in Gen. xiv, Chedorlaomer is called king of Elam, it is to be supposed that he had no authority in Babylonia itself. In all probability he simply invaded the country to help his countrymen and possibly kinsmen, Kadur-Mabug and his son Rim-Agu, Eri-Eaku, or Arioch, and it is to be supposed that they were all driven out together by the allied native princes of Babylonia, Hammurabi or Amraphel, and Sin-idinna^m, the rightful king or viceroy of Larsa.

Fortunately there exists what may be regarded as the official record of the victory gained by Hammurabi. It is the colophon-date of the tablet B. 64, which records the sale of a plantation by Ana-Sin-emida to Muḥaddu^m for 2½ shekels of silver. This important entry is as follows:—

Iti Aš-a uda niš-eša-kama
 Mu Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi lugala

 ma-da Ya-mu-ut-ba-lu^m
 u lugala Ri-im-Agu
 šu-ni sa-ne-du.

*Month Sebat, day 23rd,
 Year Hammurabi the king
 the land of Yamutbālu
 and king Rim-Agu
 his hand captured.*

Judging from S^p. III., 2, and S^p. II., 987 (see above, pp. 4-14), Dûr-šir-ilāni, son of Arioch, took part in certain political events, and even seems (p. 14) to have laid claim to the throne of Babylon. The history of that period will only be known, however, after the records here printed are completed by further discoveries in Babylonia, and possibly, in Assyria as well.†

Notes to S^p. III, 2 (pp. 46 ff).

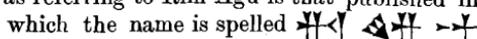
OBVERSE.

4. Prof. Hommel here restores the name Hammurabi, as does likewise Prof. Sayce, who completes also at the beginning [*ina tar-*] *šu*, making this part read "[In the] time of Hammu[rabi]," "whose praises," he adds, "are sung in the following lines."

8. *Zanānu*, from which *zanin* comes, mean "to rain," and "to nourish," or "be patron of," as in the expression *zanin*

* The envelope here adds , the determinative suffix indicating a place-name.

† The envelope has , *šu-ni sa-ne-du*. The root of the Akkadian verb is  *sa-duga*, which is translated in W.A.I. II., pl. 15, l. 46a, by a form of the word *kašādu*, "to capture."

‡ Another text regarded as referring to Rim-Agu is that published in W.A.I. iv., pl. 35, No. 8, in which the name is spelled  *Ri-im-D.P. A-gam-um* or *Rim-Agar^m*. Prof. Hommel, at the Orientalist Congress lately held in Paris (1897), suggests, however, that  is possibly a mistake for , *nu*, and that the whole is to be read *Rim-Anu^m*, the name of a king of Larsa recently found on tablets from Senkārāh. Whether *Rim-Agu^m* and *Rim-Anu^m* be the same or different rulers is at present uncertain.

Ê-sagila û Ê-zida, "patron of (the temples) Ê-sagila and Ê-zida," and it is apparently the meaning which *zanin* has here.

9. *Ušankit*, "he causes to be slain," is apparently the verb to the lost portion of the line, and perhaps refers to *maliku lâ zanin* [*êšrēti*?], "the ruler who was not patron of the [temples?]," in line 8.

𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, *Dûr-šîr-îlâni*, "the supreme fortress of the gods," is a phrase that one would hardly expect to find as the name of a man. Such names, however, were probably not uncommon at the time, for we find such expressions as 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, *Aššur-dûr-pani-ia*, "Asshur is a fortress before me," etc., used as names of men. The transcription of the first syllable of *Dûr-šîr-îlâni* is confirmed by the variant 𐎶𐎵𐎶 for 𐎶𐎵𐎶 in Sp. II, 987, line 19 (plate II). Cf. page 69.

For 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, *Eri-(D.P.)[Ê]-a-ku*, variant 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, *Eri-(D.P.) Ê-ku-u* (apparently a mistake for the first form) and Prof. Sayce's remarks upon the pronunciation of 𐎶𐎵𐎶, see p. 69.

10. *Islul*, "he carried off," "spoiled," seems to belong to the words at the beginning of the line, now lost. The phrase "waters (𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, *mê*) over Babylon and Ê-saggil" is obscure. The character 𐎶 has so many meanings besides that of "water," that it is difficult to choose between them. As, therefore, the meaning here adopted is by far the most common, it seems best to retain it, regarding the word as probably used as a poetical expression for "destruction." *Ê-saggil* was the name of the great temple-tower at Babylon, and it is noteworthy that the spelling 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, *E-saggil* (probably pronounced *Ê-sangil*) is late. The earlier texts generally give 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, *Ê-sagila*, which is more correct.

13. The name *Tudhula* corresponds very well with that of *Tidal* (Heb. תִּדְרָעַל), the Greek form of which is Θαργᾶλ, showing that the *y* had the guttural sound similar to the Arabic *ġ*, represented in Assyrian, as a rule, by *ḫ* (= ḫ = ḫ), which was the nearest that those who used the wedge-writing could get to this sound. The LXX. had the disadvantage of an incorrect reproduction of the name (τ for ḫ)

in the copy of the Hebrew text which they used, hence the form $\Theta\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda$ for $\Theta\alpha\delta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda$. The Babylonian scribes seem to have given it an Akkadian etymology, *Tudhula* apparently meaning, in that language, "the evil offspring," or (if we regard *hula* as another form of *gula* or *gala*), "the great offspring." The vowel of this name (if it be Akkadian) is probably incorrect in both the Hebrew and the Greek forms. How his father's name (of which we have only two syllables, namely, *Gazza* . . .) is to be completed, is uncertain, but the full form, as I have restored it, may be regarded as very probable, being based upon what is probably the same name on a tablet concerning which I hope to speak elsewhere.

14. This line is the same as line 10, which see.

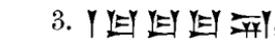
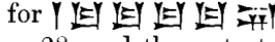
15. The form *muhha-šu*, "upon him," for the more usual *muhhi-šu* is noteworthy.

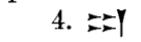
16. The last word, the name *Annunit*, is interesting on account of the archaic writing of the first syllable, the name being found at 2200 B.C. and thereabouts, spelled as above, but with the ending *um* ($\rightarrow\uparrow \nearrow \text{𐎠} \text{𐎢} \text{𐎠}$ (*An-nu-ni-tum*). The late style of writing is $\rightarrow\uparrow \text{𐎠} \nearrow \text{𐎠} \text{𐎢} \text{𐎠}$, *D.P. A-nu-ni-tum*. Of course it is possible that the form in the text originally had this ending, but if so, it probably had double *t* ($\rightarrow\uparrow \nearrow \text{𐎠} \text{𐎢} \text{𐎠}$, *An-nu-nit-tum*).

REVERSE.

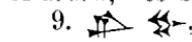
1. The name of the city, *Ahhé*, is doubtful with regard to the latter part, notwithstanding that the traces of characters and the needs of the text require some such character (Δ , *hi*) as is here restored. As the character \uparrow , which the tablet has, seems to be impossible, I have regarded the horizontal wedge as accidental, and read simply \uparrow , *ana*.

2. Here the scribe seems to have written $\text{𐎠} \text{𐎢}$, *zu*, for $\text{𐎠} \text{𐎢}$, *ma*, in *mahazu*. Prof. Sayce completes the last word as the name of Borsippa, which is possible, in which case the whole was probably written $\text{𐎠} \text{𐎢} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎢} \text{𐎠}$, *Bar-si-ip*, *D.S.* The common way of writing it is $\text{𐎠} \text{𐎢} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎢}$, *Bar-sip*, *D.S.*, but the forms $\text{𐎠} \text{𐎢} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎢}$, *Bar-sip*, *D.S.*, and $\text{𐎠} \text{𐎢} \text{𐎠}$, *Bur-sip*, *D.S.*, are also found, as well as $\text{𐎠} \text{𐎢} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎢}$, *Ba-ar-zi-pa*, *D.S.*

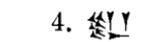
3. , *Ku-dur-laḡ-mal*, is defectively written for . For another way of writing it, see p. 28, and the note to S^p. II, 987, ll. 6-7, below.

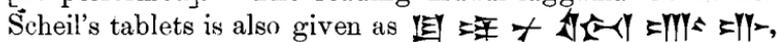
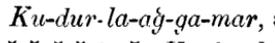
4. , *ab*-. The translation of this word is a conjecture. , *'a-nu-tu*, is possibly an old way of writing *annūtu*, plural masc. of *annū*, this, agreeing with *šarrāni*. The form with one *n* occurs in Aššur-našir-apli I, 90.

6. , *ar-rat*, is apparently 3rd pers. fem. permansive of *arāru*, "to bind."

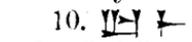
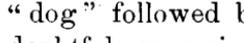
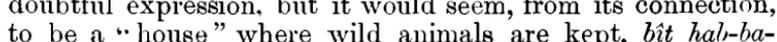
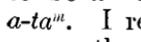
9. , *ni-bu*, seems to be a byform of the permansive *nabū*, from *nabū*, "to proclaim."

NOTES TO S^p. II, 987. (pp. 51 ff.).

4. , *šar-ta^m*. The translation "fame" is a conjecture—the rendering "happiness" would also make good sense. The reading *sarta^m* is also possible.

6-7. Prof. Sayce here translates (*ana Kudur-laḡgamal*, etc.) "To Chedorlaomer the King of Elam they answered, 'Descend!' thereupon that which seemed good unto them [he performed]." The reading *Kudur-laḡgamal* in Father Scheil's tablets is also given as , *Ku-dur-la-ḡ-ga-mar*, agreeing very closely with the , *Ku-dur-laḡ-ga-mal*, of this tablet. For the shorter form, see above.

8. *Kar-Duniaš* would appear from this to be the district in which the city Babylon was situated, confirming Delitzsch in *Wo lag das Paradies?*, p. 134.

10. , is apparently for , the character for "dog" followed by the plural sign. , is a doubtful expression, but it would seem, from its connection, to be a "house" where wild animals are kept, *bit hab-ba-ta^m*. I regard *habbata^m* as being the plural of a feminine noun, the singular being possibly *habbu* or *habbatu*, and possibly derived from the Akk. , *haba*, "hollow place," "den." See the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1894, p. 850, cuneiform text, line 18, (*habbu*) and 25 (read *hab[bu]*). The "house of robbers" does not seem to suit the context,

and we should not expect the form *habbāta*^m, but 𐎶 𐎺 𐎠 𐎠 𐎶 , *habbatē*.

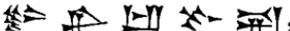
11. *Ihtarku* is the secondary form of the kal of *harāku*, the meaning of which, Delitzsch suggests, is "to engrave." This, however, can hardly be correct, as such an expression would come in rather suddenly here. As it is animals that are referred to in this passage, this verb ought to express something relating to them, and in this connection we may perhaps compare the Heb. פָּרַח , not with the meaning of the A.V., "to roast," but with that of the LXX., Chald. and Syr. "to take," "catch." The *h* should be = ח , not ח . The word *kinu* may belong to what follows, and, if so, must be rendered "faithful"—"he loveth the faithful winged raven."

12. The character 𐎶 𐎶 here is equivalent to the Assyrian 𐎶 𐎶 , the values of which are *mu* and *sub*. It is evidently used here, and in line 14, for 𐎶 𐎶 , Assyrian 𐎶 𐎶 , *nak*.

15-21. The lacunæ here make the text very difficult. Prof. Sayce translates and completes thus: "Who (*āu*) is the king of Elam who has [removed?] the woodwork of Ê-saggil [which] the sons of Babylon had erected, and has [destroyed] their work? [These are the] words which thou has sent saying: "I am a king, the son of a king un[rivalled?]. Who ([*ā*)*u*) is the son of a king's daughter who has sat on the throne of royalty? Dûr-šir-ilāni, the son of Eriāku, the son of the queen Kur . . . has sat on the throne of royalty, and in front of the sanctuary (*dī*) has [worshipped] (*iplakkkhu*). Therefore (*ēnu*) let the king march," etc.

In l. 15 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 , D.P. *nun-nu*, is the difficult word. If from the Akk. 𐎶 𐎶 , *nuna*, it should mean "the great woodwork." In my rendering I have regarded it as referring to the chapel or shrine at the top of Ê-saggil. The part of a word at the end of l. 16 may be restored as 𐎶 𐎶 , ruler," a 𐎶 𐎶 . *nisakku*, "ruler," "prince." Prof. Sayce has apparently completed this 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 , *lā ša-na-an*, "unequaled."

The last character of l. 21 is apparently to be completed as 𐎶 𐎶 , i.e., 𐎶 𐎶 , Assyrian 𐎶 𐎶 , *kun*. The full word was possibly *kunnu*.

23. The last word is probably , *innippuš*.

24.  would seem to be a variant, for the Assy.  *zur-ra = kalû*, W.A.I. II., 21, 46e.  in l. 26 seems to be also a variant of this group.

27.  is apparently not equivalent to *amtu*, "female servant," but to  *šal-lat*, "spoil."

REVERSE.

This is very mutilated indeed, in fact, remains only of about 18 lines (including the colophon) exist, and profitable commentary upon these is impossible. All that may be said with safety is, that it probably gave a continuation of the historical narrative of the obverse.

S^p. 158 + S^p. II, 962. (pp. 57 ff.)

OBVERSE.

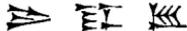
1-3. Prof. Sayce suggests that these lines should be completed in accordance with the rev. lines 33-36: [The Elamite destroyed] its pa[lace, he subdued the princes (and) with the sword, he carried off the spoil of] the temple(s), [all of them, he took their goods, and carried them off] (to) Elam."

4. Here, possibly, we have to complete: "[The enemy, the Elamite, took] its goods."

5. Prof. Sayce suggests the completion: "[he made pale] their faces, as in line 15 of the reverse.

7. The difference between  and  is not observed by the scribe. In *isnika*, we must, of course, read the latter.

8. For , *niš*, we ought, perhaps, to read , *eš*, making the word *gišgalleš*. The adverbial *-eš* or *-iš*, in this text, is frequently used to express "in," "to," or "from," like *Dú-maḥiš* (l. 9), *naḳabbiš* (rev., l. 12), *šamamiš* (rev., 13), *Šumeriš* (rev., l. 20), *Meškiš* (rev., l. 32).

11. Prof. Sayce suggests that , *mārē*, "children," here refers to the soldiers. They are, in fact called *kuradē*, "warriors," in the next line.

12. *Magritum*, from the context, "message" or "command," as the thing to be obeyed. Probably from *magāru*, "to obey."

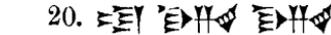
13. *Šulla'*, imperative plu. kal. of *šalātu*, "to spoil." whence also *šallat*, "spoil of."

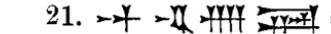
14. *Suḫḫā'* is imperative plu. piel of *saḫû*, meaning "to destroy." *Suprisā* is imperative plu. shaphel of *parāsu*, "to divide." *Sakkē* I have rendered as plural, but it may be singular (see rev. l. 29). The meaning "enclosure" seems to be that required by the context.

17. Prof. Sayce regards a fresh paragraph beginning *Inum*, "when" (cf. rev., lines 2, 6, etc.), as having begun with this line.

18. *Urrid* is from *ârādu* (= *warādu*), probably aor. of the pael. *Šeduššu* is apparently for *šédû-šu*, and, if so, is probably the plural of *šedu*, with suffixed pronoun. This phrase occurs also in lines 3, 7, and (25) of the reverse.

19. *U-saḫ-ḫi* is the most probable completion of the word, after which Prof. Sayce suggests the restoration *ušurta-šu* ("he destroyed its barrier").

20.  *at(d)-gi-gi* is the Akk. equivalent of *maliku*, "ruler." Prof. Sayce suggests that *pakid* refers to the god Nebo (cf. rev., l. 25). *Issuḫ* is from *nasāḫu*, "to remove," and *katimtu* from *katāmu*, "to cover."

21.  *Ennun-dagalla*, or, better, *Ennuna-dagala*, apparently means "the watchman of the broad place."

22. The singular *illabiš* with the plural noun *îlāni* here and in line 26 is noteworthy.

23. *Iniš* is apparently from *nāšu*, "to totter," "shake," and seems to be transitive, though its noun *may*, possibly, be *aššūti*, and, if so, we have here another example of a singular verb with a plural noun.

24. *Ukkiš*. This can hardly be the *ākāšu* (אכש), "to put an end to," of Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch*, but must be from אכש, the Arab. , "to diminish," the noun from which, , is explained as "the station where the moon is eclipsed." It is with this meaning that the Babylonian word is apparently connected.

25. The first word should apparently be completed *urrid*. *Nisakku* is of Akkadian origin, and means "he who (*ni*) is head" (*sag*).

29. The form *tišbat* is interesting—it is an imperative like *tīšab*, “set” in the American portion of the British Museum tablet 85-4-30, 48 (see my article upon this text in *Hebraica* for Oct., 1886, p. 17, l. 9).

33. , D.P. *šenu*. This word generally means “good,” and in this agrees with the Akkadian ideograph expressing it, *nig-a-zi* (for *nig a-zi-du*), “he who” or “that which is right” (lit. “on the right hand”). This rendering, however, clearly fits neither here, nor in line 33 of the reverse. We have, therefore, to regard this word as the same as the *šenu* or *šinu* which translates the Akkadian , *gab*, and is a synonym of *bīšū* (or *bīšu*), “bad.” (See J.R.A.S. for 1894, p. 830). Prof. Sayce translates similarly, “wicked man,” and suggests the placing of *inum*, “when,” at the beginning of the line (cf. rev. ll. 3, 6, etc.).

34. *Napaltu*^m may be from *napālu*, or (if *l* represent a sibilant) from *napāšu*, *napāsu*, or *napāsu*.

36. *A'il* in this line and *aal* in l. 28 are possibly from the same root, and may be connected with the word *ālu*, “city,” as “dwelling-place.”

S^p. 158 + S^p. II, 962. (pp. 57 ff.)

REVERSE.

Prof. Sayce suggests, as an alternative rendering of *Inum rabišu šulum idib[bub]*, “When he said ‘Rabišu, peace!’”

6. The character   are doubtful, but are more probable than any others. *La-šasi* may be a compound word meaning “non-pronouncement” (like *la-šubat-su*, “his pseudo-capital” in line 28). *Ahitu*^m is the fem. of *aḫu*, “foreign,” here used, apparently, like *aḫita* (acc.) in W.A.I. IV., 48, obv. l. 3, for “untoward” “contrary” (fate). (See Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 41b).

10. *Šaburū* seems to be preferable to *aburū*. I have regarded the word as possibly a variant of *šabrū*, “magician,” “seer.” Further material is required to find out the true meaning.

11.   , or, giving the second character its earlier form,   , D.P. *Gul-lum*, the god Gullu^m or Kullu^m, is probably from the Akkadian, and would mean

"the god of destruction" (*gul* = *ābātu*, "to destroy"). The next word, *imi-ḥullu^m* (*mer-ḥullu^m* and *tu-ḥullu^m* are also possible readings) is likewise from the Akkadian, and means "evil wind" (*imi*, *mer*, or *tu*, "wind," *ḥul*, "evil").* *Upassiḫi* is for *upassiḫu* (sing. for plu., as in obv., ll. 22, 23, etc.), from *pašāḫu*, probably not a variant form (with *s* for *š*) from *pašāḫu*, "to cease," "be quiet," as this meaning does not seem to suit very well. The Heb. cognate of *pašāḫu*, however, has *s* for *š* (𐤐𐤑𐤔), as in the present text.

18. Prof. Sayce suggests the completion of this line as *Inum nakru Elamū*, "When the enemy, the Elamite (decreed destruction)."

28. *La šubat-su*, "not his seat." This curious expression is not without its parallel in Assyrian, as in *lā kēttu*, "not right," "wrong;" *lā-annu*, "unsin," "innocence;" *lā-bēl-kussī*, "a not-lord-of-the-throne," "a usurper."

29. *Šuhurrur* is shuphul permansive of *ḥarāru*, "to hollow out," "dig through," whence *ḥurru*, "hollow," "hole;" *ḥarru*, "canal," and *harranu*, "road" (probably originally a dual). The expression *šuhurrur šakkē-šu* is a parallel to *šupriša šakkē-šu*, "came its enclosure to be cut through" in l. 14 of the obverse.

32. *Meškiš*. Prof. Sayce suggests here , *ši* (*Šiškiš*) for , *me* (*Meškiš*), which would mean "to Babylon" (𐤍𐤔𐤍, Jer. xxv, 26; li, 41). The character , however, is certain, and, if correct (as we are bound to assume it is) it implies a further extension of the Elamite conquests spoken of, and furnishes an interesting explanation of Psalm cxx, 5: "Woe is me, that I sojourn in Mesech," i.e., in the land of darkness, the *ḥarran daummata* "road of darkness" of this passage. Prof. Hommel regards  (*ki*) as a determinative suffix, and reads "to Mish."

POSTSCRIPT.

In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to give fair renderings of three very difficult texts, one of them of considerable length. Their mutilated state has prevented the author from making translations which may be regarded

* *Gullu^m u imi-ḥullu^m* seems to be parallel to the *mehē šāru limnu*, "storm (and) evil wind," in line 13.

as really satisfactory; improvements will doubtless be made as time goes on, and there is always the hope that perfect, or at least, more perfect copies than those here given, may come to light, changing much of what is uncertain and lacking, and giving us, instead, really trustworthy documents.

The author has not thought it necessary to reply specifically to the various criticisms that have been made, the critics having commented upon the texts without taking into consideration all the facts, even when they knew them, and he could, he thinks, place his finger upon at least one case of deliberate suppression. These critics it would be absolutely impossible to convert, even if the author had any desire to do so. With such imperfect texts as these, however, dogmatising is impossible, and the author disclaims any such intention. It is quite indifferent to him whether 𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃 𐤄 𐤅 𐤆 , 𐤇 𐤈 𐤉 𐤊 𐤋 𐤌 𐤍 𐤎 , and 𐤏 𐤐 𐤑 𐤒 𐤓 𐤔 𐤕 𐤖 be Chedorlaomer, Arioch, and Tidal respectively—they may be entirely different personages, but if they are not what they seem to be, it is a remarkable historical coincidence, and deserves recognition as such.

The author greatly regrets that he was not able to refer so much to Professor Hommel's *Ancient Hebrew Tradition* as he would have liked, this paper having already assumed its present form before that work came to hand. He here takes the opportunity, however, of publicly thanking Professor Hommel for the kind way in which he has mentioned his name, and referred to the texts here published, and he recommends to the reader desiring the opinion of another specialist and earnest student of Assyrian, the striking work of the well-known and eminent professor of Oriental languages in the University of Munich.

SP. III., 2. REVERSE.

3
 6
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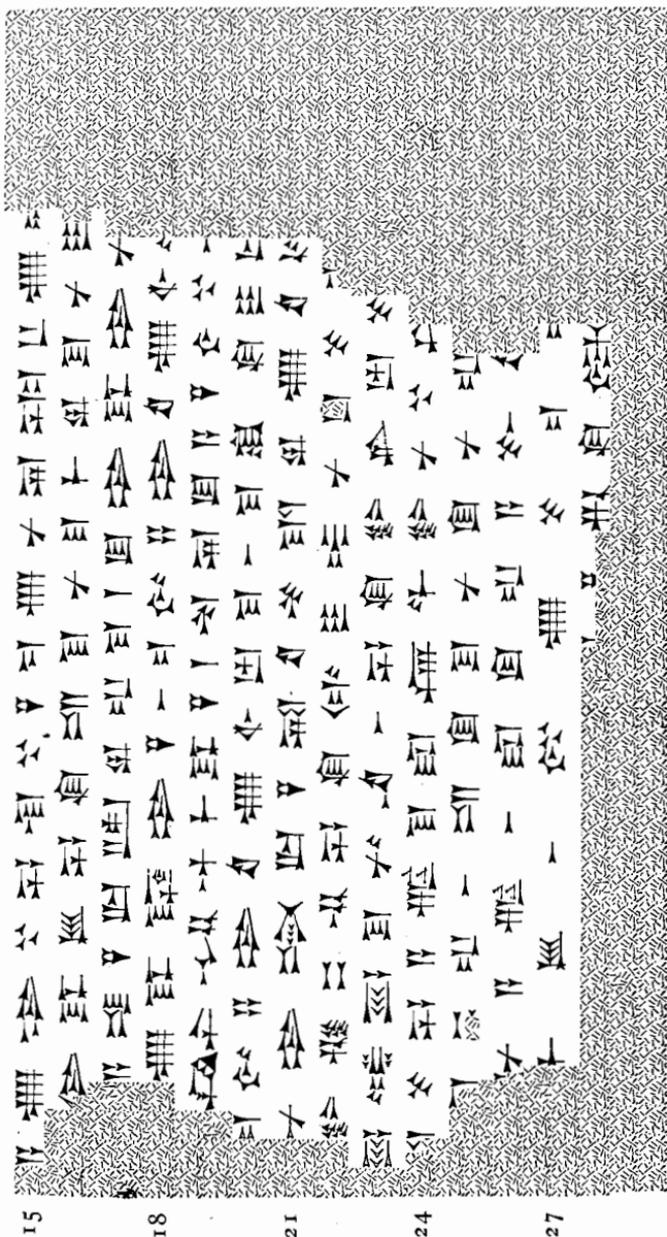
For the transcription and translation, see pp. 46-49.

SP. II, 987.

KUDUR-LAGGUMAL AND DUR-MAG-ILANI, SON OF ERI-EAKU.

OBVERSE.

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It has not been thought worth while to print the text of the reverse, that portion being too mutilated to give any connected sense. A transcription and translation of the whole tablet, including the reverse, will be found on pp. 51-55.

Sp. 158 + Sp. II, 962. KUDUR-LAĞGA[MAL] AND IDE-TUTU. REVERSE.

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At the Meeting of the Victoria Institute at which the investigation of this subject was commenced the discussion was of a conversational character. Proof copies of the first eight pages of the paper were sent to members, especially known Assyriologists, among these Professors Hommel, Sayce, and others whose co-operation was desired.

The following letter, written by the Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce, D.D., refers to one of the very interesting points involved in the matter investigated.

Assuan, February 18, 1896.

I believe that we have at last an explanation of the enigmatical title given to Tidal in the 14th chapter of Genesis, "Tidal King of Nations." Mr. Pinches read a very interesting paper on the important Babylonian texts recently discovered by him which relate to Kudur-Lagamar or Chedor-laomer, Tudkhula or Tid'al, and Eri-Aker or Arioch. They are, unfortunately, all more or less mutilated; but one of them states that Kudur-Lagamar "assembled the Umman-Manda" or "nomad hordes" of the East when he "did evil" to the people and land of Bel. The Biblical *Goyyim* "nations" would be the Hebrew equivalent of the Babylonian Umman-Manda; and in Tidal, therefore, I see a king of the nomad hordes who adjoined Elam on the north. This throws light upon a passage in the great Babylonian work on astronomy which runs as follows:

"The Umman-Manda come and rule the land; the mercy-seats of the great gods are removed; Bel goes to Elam. It is prophesied that after thirty years the vanquished (?) shall be restored, and that the great gods shall return with them."

As Kudur-Lagamar was King of Elam; we can understand why the consequence of the incursion of the Umman-Manda was that Bel should go to Elam. I may add that the texts discovered by Mr. Pinches seem to be oracles addressed to the Babylonian King Khammurabi.